UNITED NATIONS

A

General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/45/PV.57
18 December 1990

ENGLISH

Forty-fifth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 5 December 1990, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)
later:	Mr. SUTRESNA (Vice-President)	(Indonesia)
later:	Mr. de MARCO (President)	(Malta)
later:	Mr. SUTRESNA (Vice-President)	(Indonesia)
later:	Mr. de MARCO (President)	(Malta)

- Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa [34] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

  (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

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This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

90-64412/A 3727V (E)

(c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

(d) Reports of the Secretary-General

(e) Report of the Special Political Committee

(f) Draft resolution

- Programme of work

READEX FICHE

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/45/22 and Add.1)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/45/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/45/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/162, A/45/539, A/45/550, A/45/637, A/45/670)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/45/815)

(f) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/45/L.31)

Mr. BENSID (Algeria) (interpretation from French): For nearly 40 years the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa has been a subject of grave concern to the international community. The racial segregation that persists in South Africa and the tragic plight of an entire people justify the importance the international community attaches to the consideration of this question and underlie its struggle to achieve the definitive eradication of the system of apartheid.

Rightly termed a "crime against humanity," the policy of apartheid is a negation of human dignity and a denial of human rights in its most extreme form. At a time when the international community is experiencing in various realms the emergence of a new determination to achieve the rule of law, the world is still faced with the persistence of a system that is an even more revolting anachronism in the present-day context.

It was in that context that the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern African was held. The adoption by consensus of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Desctructive Consequences in Southern Africa, an act of profound political

(Mr. Bensid, Algeria)

significance, made it possible to reaffirm the unequivocal and universal condemnation of the system of apartheid, to define ways and means of abolishing it completely, and to lay down prerequisites for the attainment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Since the adoption of that Declaration new developments have taken place in South Africa that have attracted attention and awakened the hope that at last we might see the establishment there of a new society in which legality and justice are restored and freedom enshrined.

The release of the great South African patriot Nelson Mandela and his fellow freedom-fighters, the legalization of the African National Congress (ANC) and other anti-apartheid organizations, the recent repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal and the initiation of a process of dialogue between the South African authorities and the representatives of the ANC were all, indeed, encouraging signs that a new era might be dawning in South Africa. Today, however, nearly a year after the announcement of those measures, they have proved to be insufficient. Viewed in the framework of the demands formulated by the General Assembly, the process undertaken by the South African régime remains at a preliminary stage and requires, as the Secretary-General has stressed, bolder and more creative measures to bring it to a successful conclusion.

Indeed, what is the significance of the release of Nelson Mandela and his fellow freedom-fighters if their civil and political rights are not restored? What impact will the legalization of political parties have if it is not accompanied by a lifting of the prohibitions that impede their activities? And what significance can the lifting of the state of emergency have if repression can continue on the basis of the repressive powers the régime enjoys under its ordinary legislation?

(Mr. Bensid, Algeria)

That means that, in our view, the steps taken by the South African régime, significant as they may be, respond only partially to the conditions laid down by the Assembly and are mere half-measures when compared with the real problem and the concrete measures its solution requires. It also means that the changes made by the South African authorities cannot conceal the reality in South Africa, where the fundamental structure of the policy and practice of apartheid has still not been dismantled and where discriminatory legislation continues to exist on the books. It means, further, that these reforms must not divert the international community's attention from the fact that most of the measures required for the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to negotiations have not yet been taken and that the question of the civil and political rights of the South African people has not yet been broached. Lastly, it means that the violence that is the undeniable result of the maintenance of the structures of apartheid and the persistent repressive practices of the South African régime should make the international community aware that it must continue to demand a process of change that is still being seriously threatened by these repressive practices.

The emergence of a new South Africa is inconceivable if the most basic rights of all South Africans are not restored, just as a new South Africa cannot accommodate the survival of a system that, apart from a few changes, would maintain the present fundamental structures intact.

It is therefore up to the South African authorities to embark resolutely on the sole and single course charted by the international community for the establishment of an era of peace and justice in South Africa. That course requires that every step be taken to establish the conditions necessary to produce a climate conducive to effective negotiations. It also assumes that the institutions and

(Mr. Bensid, Algeria)

structures of apartheid will first be dismantled and that the laws that constitute the legal underpinnings of the system - the Internal Security Act, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Native Land Acts - are repealed. It requires, too, that the prohibitions and restrictions that now hinder the activities of political organizations be lifted and that all political prisoners and detainees be released. Lastly, it requires that an end be put to all political trials and executions and that the troops be withdrawn from the townships.

In September of this year the General Assembly had an opportunity to gauge the true scope and impact of the measures thus far taken by the South African régime and to assess all that remains to be done in establishing a democratic society in South Africa. By reiterating the conditions set forth in the 1989 United Nations Declaration, the international community reaffirmed the steps that must be taken to bring about a new South Africa and to lay its indispensable bases.

The consensus on the condemnation of apartheid and the conditions necessary for its total eradication must be reaffirmed to support the international community in its struggle against that heinous system and to restore the legitimate rights of the South African people. Having suffered martyrdom for more than four decades, the South African people are in fact entitled to expect that the injustice done them will at last be redressed once and for all.

Having suffered so much since their attainment of independence, the countries of southern Africa are entitled to expect that peace and justice will be definitely established and strengthened in their subregion. It is therefore up to the United Nations once again to bring all its authority to bear to maintain pressure on the South African régime so that the process now under way can be accompanied by new, bolder and more concrete measures and so that the necessary conditions will at last be established for a democratic and non-racial society based on the free exercise of universal suffrage in a united and non-fragmented South Africa.

Mr. NOOR (Afghanistan): My delegation is gratified to note that this year the General Assembly is deliberating upon the policies of apartheid in South Africa at a time when there are grounds for optimism for the future. Not only has the general international atmosphere improved, which facilitates the solution of a variety of problems facing humanity, but in South Africa itself initial steps have been taken to pave the way towards a possible peaceful dismantling of the apartheid system. Namibia, thanks to the heroic struggle of its people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the sustained support of the international community, is today a free country. We congratulate the Namibian people and their leadership once again and welcome them to the Organization as a sovereign Member State of the United Nations.

In South Africa itself some positive changes in attitude, if not yet in practice, have taken place. Faced for years with the repeated and persistent moral condemnation of apartheid by the international community, Pretoria has finally realized that apartheid is not sustainable in practice either. What remains to be done is a final courageous step to dismantle it all together in favour of a non-racial democratic system for the entire South African people thereby returning South Africa to the fold of the international community.

In this connection we welcome the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela, the heroic son and leader of the South African people, and a number of other political prisoners. We also welcome the lifting of the state of emergency and the ban on opposition political parties and a number of other improvements that have taken place. However, we note with concern that the basic machinery of the apartheid system is still in place. The international community has been unanimous in its verdict that apartheid cannot be reformed. The only solution, therefore, lies in its total elimination. Nothing less would be acceptable to the South African majority or to the international community. South African authorities must adopt

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

all the measures necessary to create conditions suitable for a peaceful, negotiated replacement of apartheid by a non-racial democratic system of government.

To this end my delegation is deeply concerned at the recent wave of violence in South Africa, which has brought so much human loss and suffering to the people. While we believe that this violence is a direct result of the violent nature of apartheid itself, we maintain that the South African authorities must carry out their responsibility to provide security to all segments of the South African people.

On a positive note, my delegation supports the preliminary talks that have taken place between the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the white South African authorities. However, we believe these authorities should implement further reforms to make it possible for these talks to deal with the substantive issue of the future constitution of the country and its political system. While commending the ANC decision to suspend armed struggle as a sign of good will, we realize that the steps taken by the South African authorities so far, although in the right direction, are insufficient to pave the way for speedy and constructive negotiations.

The positive initial changes witnessed in South Africa are in no small measure the result of the heroic struggle of the non-white majority of the South African people. Their rejection and defiance of the abhorrent apartheid system, carried out with great courage in the face of Pretoria's repressive machinery, have been truly instrumental in opening the way for the eventual dismantling of apartheid. However we would also like to note the tremendous effect of the support of the international community for this just cause. In particular, one should mention the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session.

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

The Declaration, which sent the strongest message to Pretoria, must have played an important part in convincing South Africa that apartheid was not sustainable.

While noting with regret that the provisions of the Declaration are yet to be implemented in their totality by the South African régime, my delegation believes that attention should also be focused on obligations in the Declaration assigned to the States Members of the Organization in conformity with humanity's common endeavour to eradicate the shameful and inhuman system of apartheid. In this connection, we strongly support the maintenance and strengthening of international sanctions against the South African régime. Apartheid is far from being dismantled and we must not lessen our vigilance until it is completely eradicated.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): The debate on apartheid this year comes at a very timely moment. We have heard a great deal about the so-called momentous or fundamental changes said to have taken place in South Africa since De Klerk took over the country's leadership from P.W. Botha. The campaign to depict every change initiated or even promised by him as fundamental, has intensified in recent months, especially since the release of Nelson Mandela in February. Doors which were formerly closed to the régime have now been opened and pressure for yet more to open is mounting. F.W. de Klerk and Pik Botha are now welcome visitors in several capitals, including places where the system they represent was regarded as the arch enemy of our common humanity only one year ago.

The campaign is therefore threatening to destroy the whole fabric of measures agreed upon by the international community to exert pressure upon the racist régime in order to force it to abandon apartheid.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

The present debate offers a timely opportunity for the international community to engage in a serious and frank discussion about the nature of recent changes in South Africa and to agree on an appropriate response to them, bearing in mind that our objective is the total eradication of the inhuman system of apartheid.

It is true that since the accession of F.W. de Klerk to power, the South African régime has released Nelson Mandela and a few other political prisoners. The apartheid régime has also, at least in theory, unbanned all political parties, lifted the state of emergency and repealed some obnoxious pieces of legislation which the international community has demanded for a very long time.

Nevertheless, contrary to the assertions in support of the campaign - some of which we no doubt will hear in the present debate - not one of the changes initiated by De Klerk can be regarded as momentous or - to borrow the language of the Declaration in relation to sanctions - as "profound and irreversible" (resolution S-16/1, annex, para. 9 (d)). The release of Mandela and other political prisoners is, of course, a positive change of policy, which we welcome. But even for Mandela himself, it means little more than being out of gaol. He remains a prisoner of the wider prison walls of South Africa. He is unable, as yet, to vote and he cannot stand for elective office in his own country. With a large number of his supporters still in prison or in exile, his freedom to organize politically is severely circumscribed.

Furthermore, while releasing Nelson Mandela and a handful of other political prisoners, the South African régime has proceeded to imprison other less well-known political activists, adding to the large number of political prisoners still in prison. According to the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre based in Harare, the number of political prisoners in South Africa has increased to 3,000 since April this year, while those detained under the Internal Security Act has increased by almost 109. These political prisoners do not have the fame of

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

Mandela. They are, none the less, political prisoners. The same source shows, in addition, that as a conservative estimate, 800 people were killed in the six weeks prior to September - when the figures were released - in the so-called black-on-black violence in which the régime is deeply involved. The harassment of Mac Maharaj, Chris Hani and Joe Slovo, as well as the refusal by the régime to permit the external leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress to return to South Africa, are just a few examples of the duplicity of the régime's actions and they belie the sweet words of F.W. de Klerk.

Contrary to popular belief, the actions of the South African régime prove beyond a shadow of a doubt, that far from diminishing, repression is alive and thriving in South Africa. Those who point to the contacts between the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the régime as evidence of fundamental change, should listen carefully to the ANC itself. The Assembly will recall that in June this year, the Deputy President of the ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela, described F.W. de Klerk as "a person of integrity". However, shortly after this statement, the régime proceeded to act in a manner which went against the understanding reached between the ANC and the régime, prompting the ANC to issue a statement accusing it of engaging in a "pattern of double talk in its dealings with the ANC and the whole negotiating process".

Indeed, this is typical of the South African régime's behaviour of equivocation and duplicity, to which we have become accustomed, and proves again that F.W. de Klerk is out to hoodwink the international community into believing that fundamental change has taken place in South Africa.

In short, little of substance has changed in South Africa since F.W. de Klerk came to power. If De Klerk is sincere and committed to fundamental change, he has yet to prove it. The régime has not even fully met the pre-conditions laid down in

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

the Declaration in preparation of the ground for substantive negotiations. With the lifting of the state of emergency in September, only two out of five pre-conditions have now been met. That is why the talks between the ANC and the régime remain no more than "talks about talks".

The other measures adopted by the régime are also no more than the first tentative steps at the start of a long and arduous journey. As I explained in my statement to the Assembly in the general debate on 4 October 1990, the Declaration adopted by the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly in December last year laid down a two-stage process for the dismantlement of the apartheid system. Stage one entails the creation by the régime of an atmosphere conducive to substantive negotiations. Stage two entails the adoption, again by the régime, of measures which together would constitute the "profound and irreversible changes" foreseen in the Declaration as a condition for the lifting of sanctions. Despite all the talk that accompanies the pressure for the relaxation of sanctions, we have not advanced beyond the beginning of stage one of its implementation.

Sanctions were imposed to compel the régime to abandon the apartheid system. Not one of the measures so far adopted has touched the core of that system. Despite the wide interest it has attracted, the repeal of the Separate Amenities legislation has not touched the core of the system any more than did P.W. Botha's repeal of the Immoralities Act. What props the system are the laws popularly known as the pillars of apartheid which remain in place. They include the Lands Act, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Tricameral Parliament Legislation and the legislation parcelling up the country into bantustans. In the same league of notoriety are a number of security laws which are used to defend apartheid, to harass, intimidate and silence its

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

opponents. The best known is the Internal Security Act, a draconian piece of legislation which continues to be used, not only to limit freedom of speech, movement and assembly, but also to terrorize, torture and detain opponents of apartheid. Clearly, no change which leaves this system intact can be described as "profound and irreversible".

The changes now taking place in South Africa are the result of concerted pressure, including internal resistance, led by the Mass Democratic Movement, international pressure - principally sanctions - combined with the threat of the ever-escalating armed struggle, spearheaded by the national liberation movement. To give the credit to De Klerk is to insult the anti-apartheid coalition and especially the memory of the thousands of South African patriots who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of South African freedom.

It is therefore not only premature, but also undeserved to lavish praise on De Klerk. My delegation was thus heartened by the reaffirmation by the General Assembly, at its resumed forty-fourth session in September, of the commitment of the international community to uphold sanctions. We very much regret that the hope expressed that those who have broken ranks by relaxing sanctions would reconsider their decision, fell on deaf ears. We regret especially that since September more countries have chosen the path of breaking ranks with the anti-apartheid coalition.

Sanctions have been instrumental in compelling the apartheid régime to accept the principle of negotiation. It is sanctions that, combined with other pressures, have brought the struggle this far, and it is sanctions that will keep Pretoria at the negotiating table. It is quite clear that we will need to keep them there for quite a long while. For the talks are still at the preparatory stage and substantive negotiations have yet to begin. And, as far as can be ascertained, their ultimate objective, so far as the régime is concerned, remains unclear.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

However, it is quite clear from available information that De Klerk's vision of a future South Africa does not accord with the vision envisaged in the Declaration on apartheid. The world community must therefore continue to maintain sanctions and other pressure on the South African régime so as to force it to implement the Declaration.

We in the front line of the struggle against apartheid have followed with interest, sympathy and understanding the dramatic changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe over the past year. It is ironic that the achievements of the peoples of Eastern Europe, which should have been a source of encouragement and inspiration to the victims of apartheid, have now become a source of deep concern and worry to them. In the past the enemies, opportunists and other detractors of the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle always tried to portray the struggle as an ideological conflict between the capitalist West and the communist East. They failed largely because the victims of colonial domination and racial repression refused to be drawn into quarrels that did not concern them. The ending of the cold war, which was constantly forcing them to choose sides, should have eased the pressure on the victims of oppression. It should have helped to enlarge humanity's freedom by extending the boundaries of freedom. Ironically, it has now added to the pressure on the victim, tipping the balance in favour of the oppressor.

A very disturbing by-product of the changes in Eastern Europe has been the emigration to South Africa of a growing number of nationals from Eastern European countries. When we receive reports indicating that some of those immigrants are joining the army, our worries are heightened. Black South African exiles are facing considerable difficulty in obtaining authorization to return home, even as second-class citizens. In contrast, after six months a white immigrant qualifies

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

automatically for citizenship, the vote and enlistment in the South African Defence Forces. Clearly the majority non-white population has reason to feel concerned about the intentions of their new visitors.

One of the very good things that the former socialist countries did, and which won them great admiration throughout the world, was their principled support for the anti-colonial and anti-racist struggle. We hope that what we have witnessed recently is an aberration and that soon we can hope to see a return to the policy of strict adherence to principle.

I should like now to focus attention very briefly on the appalling violence which has led to nearly 6,000 dead in Natal and townships around Johannesburg during the past four years.

Anyone unaccustomed to the situation who watched the chilling scenes on television this past Sunday showing the latest flare-up of violence in Johannesburg will find it difficult to accept that a Government that is responsible for the maintenance of law and order, let alone one with the all-powerful and all-pervasive security system at the disposal of the régime, is powerless to stop this senseless carnage. Yet that is what the régime claims, and its friends in the West agree. They portray the conflict as black-on-black violence, and the gullible public accepts it. After all, the participants are black and they represent two black organizations - the African National Congress of South Africa and the United Democratic Front, on the one hand, and Inkatha, on the other. The fact that in this past week-end's fighting only one person was killed only serves to confirm this popular belief.

The anti-apartheid forces and solidarity groups never believed any of this propaganda. Information has recently come out corroborating the claim of the opponents of apartheid about the existence of a sinister hand behind the violence

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

in Natal and Johannesburg. The evidence, which was revealed in a number of articles by Philip Van Niekerk and Edie Koch, published in the Weekly Mail between 21 and 27 September 1990, provides details of the involvement of the South African Defence Forces in the training of Inkatha in Namibia, before its independence, and Kwazulu, and of the very close relationship between Inkatha and Renamo. The name of the base in Namibia is given as Hippo. The names of the members of the South African military who set up and commanded the base, as well as the identities of the witnesses who participated in this State terrorism training enterprise, are known. The locations of Renamo's training camps in Kwazulu, where training for Inkatha has also been undertaken, is also known. The link between Inkatha and Renamo and the role of the South African security forces in this sordid business is therefore undeniable.

Finding excuses for De Klerk's inability to stop the carnage has become quite common on the part of the régime's allies and sympathizers. To the extent that they show any concern about the violence, it is about its likely effect on de Klerk's reforms and his ability to hold on to power. In similar situations involving human life, the major Western countries have moved quickly to save lives, on their own or in an international effort. They have quite rightly rejected any excuses for the continuation of such carnage. The international community is not powerless to stop the slaughter now going on in South Africa. If we value human life we cannot countenance the continuation of the present situation. Stopping the violence in Natal and in the townships around Johannesburg must be a preoccupation of the highest priority for all of us.

The struggle for the total eradication of apartheid is far from over. In December last year, the international community agreed by consensus on a strategy and a programme of action to achieve this objective. A major element of that

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

consensus is the absolute necessity of maintaining sanctions until there is evidence of profound and irreversible change. The General Assembly reaffirmed this position in September. The tendency to take unilateral action has undermined this global approach and could cause the whole peace process to abort. Our purpose in this debate must be to reaffirm our support for the Declaration, and especially its call for sanctions to be maintained until we agree to relax them.

Mr JAYA (Brunei Darussalam): Many speakers before me have commented upon the favourable climate in today's world politics. However, in spite of the new prospects for global peace that have been presented by the easing of tensions between East and West, poverty, discrimination and conflict remain largely unresolved. Each one of these three deep-seated threats to the initial gains brought on by an improved political climate is endemic in South Africa.

The apartheid system practised by the South African white minority régime remains a persistent cause of great concern. Apartheid has long deprived the majority black population of their basic rights in all political, social and economic aspects of South Africa.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

It continues to discriminate and to segregate the black population from the white community, on the baseless grounds of race and colour. Until apartheid is totally dismantled we must ensure that the issue remains at the forefront of the main concerns of the United Nations. To achieve our common goal - the ending of apartheid - we must continue to support the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which was adopted last December.

We have noted the recent political developments in South Africa - developments such as the decision of President De Klerk to lift the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and other political parties; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the ending of violence against people engaging in peaceful demonstration; and the lifting of the state of emergency. These are indeed positive steps towards genuine negotiations. The commencement of dialogue between the Pretoria régime and the ANC should therefore be encouraged. At the same time, the decision proclaimed by the ANC to suspend the armed struggle will further improve the climate for such negotiations.

These developments are cause for hope. However, we should not be over-optimistic, as the reforms initiated by the South African régime are limited, and the main pillars of apartheid, such as the Population Registration Act 1950, the Native Land Act 1913 and the Homeland Citizenship Act 1970, remain intact and continue to deprive the South African black population of their rights, benefits and services.

The current situation in South Africa has been aptly described by Mr. Eliasson, Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. Speaking in the Special Committee against Apartheid in October 1990, he stated:

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

"While welcoming these developments we should not underestimate the difficulties that still lie ahead. A good deal remains to be done. The pillars of apartheid are still in place. They are, indeed, cemented in law. A vast array of discriminatory and repressive laws, rules and regulations continue to create havoc in the lives of the black majority of South Africa. ... there is still a dangerous gap between hope and reality in South Africa. Let us continue to work to bridge it." (A/AC.115/PV.643, p. 11)

For precisely this reason sanctions and other pressure should be maintained and intensified. In this regard, Brunei Darussalam has supported the efforts of all international forums, such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Association of South-East Asian Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, by calling for the total dismantling of apartheid and for the continued application of sanctions in a concerted manner.

Brunei Darussalam is also concerned about the actions of right-wing groups and elements that wish to perpetuate apartheid in South Africa. Indeed, much violence stems from these groups. The situation is worsened by the behaviour of the South African security forces, whose brutality and partiality in the conduct of their duties are well known and documented. Nelson Mandela may be free and the African National Congress legal, but the South African security forces continue to act as if nothing had changed. In this connection, Brunei Darussalam supports the appeal made by the Special Committee against Apartheid on 31 August 1990, to all the concerned parties to seek a mechanism that would end the senseless violence in order that the possibility of early national reconciliation might be enhanced.

Another cause of grave concern to us is the disunity and rivalry among black organizations in South Africa. This has intensified in the form of frequent

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

violent clashes between rival supporters. This unfortunate and senseless situation, if allowed to continue unabated, will only benefit those forces that wish to maintain the status quo by applying the familiar dictum "divide and rule." We therefore urge the respective groups to end their differences in order to accelerate the process that will eventually lead to the total and irreversible elimination of apartheid.

Brunei Darussalam has always abhorred apartheid. The system is morally and politically repugnant. It degrades the victims and the perpetrators alike. Hence Brunei Darussalam reiterates its full support for substantive negotiations between the Pretoria régime and the authentic representatives of the majority population - negotiations aimed at bringing an end to the apartheid system, with a view to achieving agreement on all measures necessary to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy. Brunei Darussalam's support for the fight against apartheid in South Africa was further indicated when we were honoured with a visit from Mr. Nelson Mandela in early November this year. Mr. Mandela's successful visit to countries in the Asian region illustrates the extent of the support he has garnered around the world.

In conclusion, I should like to convey the heartfelt condolences of my delegation to the family of the late President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Mr. Zephania Mothopeng, whose untimely demise will indeed be a great loss to the movement.

Mr. KAMUNANWIRE (Uganda): Once again the General Assembly is called deliberating upon the abhorrent and obnoxious policies of apartheid South Africa. We acknowledge that some positive developments have taken place over the past year, and we welcome them, but despite the changes the system of apartheid remains in place. The battle, therefore, is far from over.

(Mr. Kamunanwire, Uganda)

Suffice it to say that a myriad of security laws, including the Internal Security Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Suppression of Terrorism Act, the Defence Act and the Intimidation Act, remain operational. It will be recalled that these repressive laws were designed to circumscribe meaningful political activity.

The Population Registration Act 1950, which established a system of race classification on the basis of which each individual's destiny is determined in terms of franchise, mobility, residential rights, social benefits and State services, remains in place. The Group Areas Act 1966 and subsequent amendments continue to grant the racist Government control over inter-racial property transactions and inter-racial changes of occupation.

(Mr. Kamunanwire, Uganda)

The South African Constitution Act, No. 110 of 1983, specifically excludes 75 per cent of the South African population from voting, in elections for the central Government. This shameful situation continues to be reinforced by the Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970, which, in effect, deprives the black population of its South African citizenship.

In the meantime, there are disturbing reports that there is an influx of former citizens of Eastern European countries, many of them alleged to be former intelligence operatives, into South Africa, and that the Pretoria régime is facilitating their quick settlement and acquisition of citizenship. There is therefore an imminent danger that they will be used in the South African security forces to prop up the régime. They will also become eligible to vote. This comes at a time when the black majority are denied the right to citizenship and are not eligible to vote.

In December 1989, the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session adopted, by consensus, the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. In paragraph 9 of the Declaration, the international community committed itself to ensuring that

> "... existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African régime to eradicate apartheid [are not relaxed] until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this Declaration". (resolution S-16/1, para.9(d))

The consensus resolution adopted at the resumed session, held from 12 to 14 September this year to consider the progress in the implementation of this Declaration, reiterates this position.

(Mr. Kamunanwire, Uganda)

It is therefore a matter of deep regret to my delegation that certain countries have opted to relax existing sanctions against South Africa in order to give the racist régime a pat on the back for the long-overdue changes that have been initiated. With the current spell of euphoria about "winds of change" and a "new international order", the international community runs the risk of falling for the delusion that structural change has already taken place in South Africa. It is unfortunate that in certain quarters this illusion has already taken root. Throughout his tour of the Western world, Mr. Nelson Mandela, Vice-President of the African National Congress (ANC), called for the maintenance of economic sanctions and other types of pressure. We call upon the international community to listen to the black majority on this question.

Various countries have prematurely re-established diplomatic ties with the racist régime, and others are contemplating doing so. The international community must not lose sight of the fact that present developments in the region are the fruits of an intense struggle within South Africa, as well as of the economic pressure and political isolation imposed by the international community. They are neither voluntary changes of heart on the part of the South African Government, nor are they favours from it. These moves to re-establish diplomatic ties are premature, and must instead await the total dismantling of apartheid.

The report of the Special Rapporteur on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa (A/45/552) describes various techniques employed by foreign enterprises to circumvent total disinvestment from South Africa. Such moves are contrary to the letter and the spirit of the aforementioned consensus Declaration. Mixed signals to the South African régime could, at this crucial stage, reverse the delicate trend which is now emerging.

(Mr. Kamunanwire, Uganda)

There have been disturbing reports that plans already exist for a hybrid constitution which will give the impression of black majority rule, but will hedge it around with so many blocking mechanisms that the status quo will, in effect, be entrenched. As they prepare for negotiations, scheduled to take place next year, liberation groups must guard against a one-person-one-vote smokescreen which would win the racist régime friends abroad while deviously entrenching white privilege at home. It remains the duty of the international community to ensure that the standards set in the Declaration, and the total eradication of apartheid, are achieved.

My delegation notes, with grave concern, the recent upsurge of violence in the province of Natal. We call upon all parties involved to redirect their energies towards the onerous task of forging a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa. While my delegation has no intention of absolving those involved in factional violence, we wish to emphasise that this call is also addressed to the ultra-right, white third force, which has had a hand in fanning the violence in the hope of derailing the current positive trend.

In conclusion, we call upon all organizations involved in the struggle against apartheid to remain vigilant at this crucial time. The Organization of African Unity has had this issue before it since its inception. As demonstrated by the Harare Declaration of 1989, the African continent will continue to monitor and assess developments in South Africa until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible change. We hope that the last decade of this century will see genuine, significant change for the long-suffering peoples of South Africa.

(Mr. Kamunanwire, Uganda)

The application of sanctions, combined with the pressures brought to bear, has been responsible for bringing the struggle this far. It is necessary, therefore, for us to continue this stance in order to keep Pretoria on course towards fulfilling the provisions of the United Nations Declaration. We ask for the commitment of the international community in this regard until such time as South Africa is free of apartheid.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand): In approaching the first anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, it is fitting that we should pause to take stock of developments in the intervening period.

The Declaration on which many delegations worked so strenuously, to arrive at the first-ever consensus statement on a programme of action for South Africa, commands a prominent place in the evolution of political change in that country. Not only is it, in the words of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the yardstick against which to assess the actions of the South African authorities and of the international community, it also remains a still-valid beacon for the way ahead.

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

The intervening 12 months have witnessed some profound changes in South Africa. The release of Nelson Mandela and other important political prisoners, the unbanning of political organizations, the abolition of the Separate Amenities Act, one of the major pillars of apartheid, and the ending of the state of emergency in all but some parts of the Transvaal were important changes and measures, and were well overdue. No less important was the decision of the African National Congress (ANC) to renounce recourse to the armed struggle in pursuit of its political objectives. The establishment of a political dialogue between the ANC and the South African Government is another development which, as the Secretary-General concludes in his July 1990 report, offers hope that we are witnessing the beginning of a process towards a multiracial, united and democratic South Africa.

That is all to the good. New Zealand welcomes the declared intention of President De Klerk that further measures, including the repeal of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act, be planned for the forthcoming parliamentary session. But, as the latest talks between President De Klerk and Mr. Mandela have made clear, there remain substantial threats to the peaceful negotiation process. The way ahead is not a well-marked path.

Continued violence and the intransigence of right-wing extremists remain a constant threat to political progress. Eighty per cent of South Africans are still waiting for the right to vote. Economic disparities and inequalities in education, health and housing have yet to be addressed. In short, while there have been positive signs of change, much remains to be done.

Neither the changes that have occurred within South Africa nor those, both welcome and unwelcome, that have taken place in our world in this last year should allow the international community to relax the vigilance that has characterized its approach to the apartheid issue. New Zealand's position on apartheid is clear:

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

the system is an affront to human dignity; it must be eradicated, and without delay. We share the conclusion of the Special Committee against Apartheid that, unless profound and irreversible changes take place, the possibility remains that apartheid could survive in some disguised form.

It is for this reason that the New Zealand Government will be convinced that fundamental and irreversible change has occurred, not when it is promised, but when it is seen to exist. Promises are not enough. We look to those who suffer under apartheid's iniquities to confirm to us that that change has indeed taken place.

My Government notes the Special Committee's assessment of the efficacy of sanctions against the South African Government and the conclusion regarding the importance of their being maintained with a view to hastening Pretoria's move towards real negotiations and a new constitution. We share that view, like other members of the Commonwealth. The international community must not relax sanctions prematurely. The legislative pillars of apartheid remain in place. The South African Government retains the means to detain without trial, to ban publications and to block the full political expression of the vast majority of the population, and it continues to resort to such means.

In the process of applying sanctions against South Africa, New Zealand has implemented all measures called for by the Security Council and by the Commonwealth. We accepted a major role in the negotiations in New York last year that led to the adoption by consensus of the Declaration on apartheid. New Zealand has also been an active member of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. The report of that Group, which is now before us, is a comprehensive document that demonstrates the effort required in the implementation of sanctions. Like other sanctions, the oil embargo has suffered through loopholes and, indeed, from direct violation. The New

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

Zealand Government endorses the call on States to adhere strictly to the oil embargo.

New Zealand has been a member of the Intergovernmental Group since its formation in 1986, and for longer than the three years to which we originally committed ourselves. But the effort has been instructive and the product one of substance. We look forward to the addition to the Group in the coming year of some new members and with such change New Zealand would perhaps look to yield its place to another delegation. We would also like to take the opportunity to welcome the initiative of the Special Committee against Apartheid, with which the Intergovernmental Group works closely, in moving to expand its own membership.

The Special Committee also notes in its report the importance of assistance to the anti-apartheid forces of the country. New Zealand has been pleased to assist in such efforts, including the provision of scholarships to ANC nominees and financial contributions to the Commonwealth's Nassau fellowship scheme. New Zealand also contributes to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

The draft resolutions that are about to come before the General Assembly are in important contrast to those of our session last year. They are not only a sign of the progress made in the past year, but also an instructive reminder of what more lies ahead. Like other delegations, we are conscious of the care that has gone into their drafting so as best to balance the changes made against the changes yet to come. Although certain draft resolutions continue to present difficulties for New Zealand, as no doubt certain parts do for other delegations, it is particularly gratifying to see the spirit of the Declaration that was adopted last year embodied in the draft resolution on international efforts to eradicate apartheid.

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

There have been significant and welcome changes in the past year in South Africa. However, it is the view of New Zealand that the reasons for working so hard for consensus at the special session and in September remain valid and compelling. We worked on those occasions to send to Pretoria a united signal that derived strength precisely from being a call made by the entire United Nations membership. It is New Zealand's view that, as the Foreign Secretary of the African National Congress, Mr. Mbeki, said at a meeting earlier this week, the international community should continue sending those united signals to the Government of South Africa that apartheid must be eradicated, and soon.*

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): We meet again in regular session to consider the agenda item on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. It is proper to recall that the General Assembly has been seized of this agenda item since its founding. Over the years this body has made every effort to sensitize the international community to the plight of the people of South Africa under apartheid rule. Despite these commendable efforts, apartheid continues to be a stain on the conscience of the world. Its architects and supporters have been tireless in ensuring its entrenchment in every aspect of life in South Africa.

It is becoming increasingly fashionable in the Assembly Hall to applaud the developments that have taken place inside South Africa since we met in regular session last year. To some people, the developments are considered reason enough for the United Nations to honour the South African régime with international acceptance and the relaxation of pressure on that régime.

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* Mr. Sutresna (Indonesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

Such sentiments are at best misplaced. At worst, they are a deliberate and well-co-ordinated campaign by the South African régime and its allies aimed at slowing down, if not completely sabotaging, the process of dismantling apartheid. For not only does the situation in South Africa remain uncertain and precarious, but there has also been no noticeable inclination by the South African régime to declare that apartheid is no longer its official policy and to take such measures as are necessary to break down the pillars of apartheid - namely, the Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Bantu Education Act, the acts establishing the Tricameral Parliament and the Bantustan system, which to date are still very much intact.

It is now almost a year since my Head of State, His Excellency Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, declared at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly that:

> "It is a matter of profound regret that the winds of change have yet to blow in the direction of South Africa. South Africa will need its own perestroika before the winds of change begin to blow in its direction". (A/S-16/PV.1, p. 26)

These words remain as true today as they were then. To this day the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which was adopted by consensus by the special session of the General Assembly and which embodies the elements necessary for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations between the Government of South Africa and the genuine representatives of the oppressed majority, has not been fully implemented by the South African régime. The South African régime still places restrictions on political activity and reserves the right - which it has not been shy to use - to choose which political exiles to allow back into the country.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

Therefore, unless and until the South African régime fully implements the Declaration, formally renounces apartheid as its official policy and takes measures to break down the constitutional pillars of apartheid, the United Nations and the international community at large should continue to maintain pressure, including sanctions, on the Pretoria régime.

Some have expressed impatience with our continued criticism of the South African régime and our calls for its isolation even after the régime has undertaken some measures such as the release of some political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties and the lifting of the state of emergency. We find it strange that these friends of South Africa have, since 1948, when apartheid was adopted by the South African régime as its official policy, urged patience, asking repeatedly that the minority régime be given a chance. More than 40 years later, we are still without a response. The only thing we can be sure has come from this patience is that apartheid is still intact.

We have been accused of deliberately and unthinkingly sticking to what is called the old rhetoric, despite what some consider profound changes taking place in South Africa. We have been advised in the Assembly and in some Committees to abandon this old rhetoric and, instead, to use what is being called the language of the 1990s in respect of the situation in South Africa. But how else can we refer to apartheid, a policy that has been an anachronism right from the time of its creation?

The problem is that, for purely selfish reasons, those who have hitherto been South Africa's allies and are now its new-found friends would like to get the régime off the hook even before the process of change reaches an irreversible stage, as called for in the aforementioned Declaration. Let me reiterate that no one other than the oppressed people of South Africa has the legitimate right to

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

determine when the political process for change in their country has reached an irreversible stage, for it is these people who have to bear the brunt of the iniquities of apartheid; it is they whose just cause is being advanced by the various resolutions of the United Nations and the Declaration on apartheid referred to earlier; and it is these people whom we shall betray if we fail to implement fully the Declaration and all the relevant United Nations resolutions on this item. And so far these people have not yet declared the situation irreversible.

Certain things need to be stressed in order to put the matter in proper perspective. Indeed, to us it was a moment of joy when Nelson Mandela was released from prison. In fact, any time political prisoners are released, peace-loving people the world over should rejoice and feel hope for the future in that country. But it would be absurd for the Assembly - or anyone, for that matter - to reward the South African régime for releasing Nelson Mandela and his compatriots when they were not supposed to have been incarcerated in the first place. Had the heinous atrocities committed by the white minority régimes against the oppressed black majority in South Africa been committed instead by the latter against the former, we would most likely be hearing calls for Nuremburg-like trials of the leadership rather than calls for its being rewarded.

The rapidity and willingness with which the apartheid régime is being accommodated following its adoption of the few measures referred to earlier are in stark contrast to the selectivity and reluctance in the manner in which sanctions have been applied to South Africa. In our view, this contradiction reveals a desire among the allies of the régime to prolong the life of apartheid, which, by the way, has provided a very lucrative investment climate for many transnational corporations through its unprecedented exploitation of cheap black labour.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

My delegation wishes to register its profound concern at the reports that former employees of the security services of Eastern European countries who could not be absorbed in the new set-up or who were too closely aligned with the former Governments and fear being hunted down for whatever crimes they are deemed to have committed are flocking in droves to South Africa, where they are being absorbed into the South African police and its other security apparatus. Indeed, some commentators have referred to this movement as "running away from democracy". Because of the seriousness with which we view these reports, we would like to call on the Secretary-General, through the Assembly, to investigate these disturbing reports and to report back to the Assembly at its forty-sixth session.

Although it should have dawned on the South African régime long ago that apartheid is not only unviable but also unreformable, and in spite of the haste among the allies of the régime to declare prematurely the end of this abominable system, we would like to warn the Assembly that the South African régime is sparing no effort to ensure the survival of the trappings of apartheid.

To begin with, the constitutional planners of apartheid are making frantic efforts to craft a post-apartheid constitution that would entrench minority rights - a euphemism for minority power. We cannot but wonder at the hypocrisy of the allies of the régime who support this notion while rejecting similar appeals by the minorities in their own countries.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

Secondly, the economic planners of apartheid are busy privatizing - nay, sharing among apartheid supporters - hitherto State-owned enterprises. This move is not prompted by an established commitment to private enterprise and free-market economics on the part of the South African régime. Rather, it is intended to ensure that in a post-apartheid South Africa, which is expected to be under black majority rule, the white minority will continue to exercise monopoly economic power, while the black Government administers an empty political structure.

Thirdly, the régime is, by absorbing former East European security personnel, laying down a post-apartheid military and security structure that will compete with, rather than be subservient to, the civilian majority political establishment. Needless to say, such a military and security structure will be the organ through which the supporters of apartheid will seek to perpetuate this abominable policy, while perpetually holding the civilian administration to ransom.

Last but not least, the South African régime is standing on the sidelines cheering as the factional violence, which it created through the Bantustan policy, escalates. Surely it is not beyond the capabilities of the South African régime to put a stop to this violence if it so wishes. The South African régime is allowing the violence to continue in order to encourage the notion that blacks are irresponsible and violent and therefore not ready to assume the leadership of the country. The objective, of course, is to extend apartheid's lease on life.

With all this scheming going on in South Africa, this is the time for the international community to be even more vigilant. Any attempts to relax pressure on the régime at this critical time would therefore be tantamount to an abdication of the international community's irrevocable responsibilities towards the oppressed people of South Africa.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

In spite of the widespread destruction of life and property that the apartheid régimes of South Africa have caused in southern Africa, we in the region are no less determined in our resolve to continue our support for the oppressed people of South Africa until they finally defeat apartheid. Thereafter we shall pick up the pieces and continue our much delayed progress on the road to economic reconstruction and development.

Indeed, even in these most trying times the vibrant spirit of political affinity with which southern Africa is endowed has continued to serve as a firm foundation for inter-State co-operation and integration. However, only when apartheid is finally destroyed and buried will our region realize the full range of opportunities and potentials which southern Africa is so fortunate to have.

Before concluding my statement, I should like to pay tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, my brother and colleague, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, for the wise and dynamic leadership he has provided to that important Committee. Similarly, I commend the other members of the Committee for their continued efforts aimed at the eradication of apartheid. The Committee's report contains a wealth of information which should serve as a basis for our deliberations.

I also wish to commend the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa for its report to the Assembly. The revelations contained in that report on the violations of the oil embargo confirm our long-held view that the embargo needs to be strengthened by making its provisions mandatory in the Security Council. We call for stricter adherence to the provisions of the embargo.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

The Centre on Transnational Corporations has over the years played a key role in sensitizing the international community to the exploitation of the people and natural resources of South Africa by transnational corporations. We commend its efforts in this regard.

May I in conclusion express my delegation's deep gratitude to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General, for his dedication to the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa. Their cause is ours. We cannot fail them in this just struggle for justice, freedom and democracy.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): The international community is witnessing a process of profound changes in many areas. Those changes are evident also in South Africa. Apartheid - the abhorrent system of institutionalized racism - is now on its way out.

We note with satisfaction that the process of democratic change in South Africa is beginning to undermine the very foundations of apartheid. Poland is convinced that this process is irreversible and that the Government of President De Klerk will continue to confirm, through its bold actions, the declared intention to eliminate apartheid from South Africa's socio-political life. The lifting of the state of emergency in Natal is a step in this direction. We hope that political negotiations in South Africa towards the adoption of a new and democratic constitution will bring generally acceptable results.

We are of the opinion that the total liquidation of apartheid, accompanied by the complete democratization of South Africa's public and social institutions, may, and should, be achieved through peaceful means, through negotiations and political compromise. The constructive approach in this respect of the leaders of the democratic anti-apartheid opposition is widely recognized. We wish them unity in their ranks to continue without any delay the task before them.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

The meetings between President F. W. de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela, like the lastest, on 27 November this year, can only be seen as a sign of good will on both sides to resolve the differences that have stalled proposed negotiations between the African National Congress and the South African Government. We are encouraged by the information that Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela have repeatedly expressed their commitment to negotiations and peaceful solutions.

Poland fully supports the continued active involvement of the United Nations and the whole international community in the promotion of peaceful political methods for the liquidation of apartheid. Existing international pressure, including sanctions, has greatly influenced the beginning of democratic processes in South Africa. At this stage, however, it seems useful to consider a more positive approach, enabling progress in negotiations there and decreasing the risk of internal destabilization as well as assisting dialogue rather than confrontation.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

In our view, the present international situation and especially the victory of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe have created a new, more positive political environment for the peaceful solution of the question of apartheid and other complex problems existing in southern Africa. The problem of apartheid has ceased to be used as a pretext for bloc confrontation and rivalry for spheres of influence in Africa. Now, it is first of all an issue of human rights. Poland approaches the question of apartheid in this very way.

My country welcomes with satisfaction the successful completion of the decolonization process in Namibia, in which the United Nations has played such a fundamental role. The emergence of the independent Republic of Namibia is indeed a great success for the Namibian people, as well as for the whole international community. All States and Governments that have contributed to this success should rightfully be praised. We are deeply convinced that the important lesson that the whole region of southern Africa can learn from the liberation of Namibia is that dialogue and negotiation are the best and, we think, the only effective way to solve the existing problems.

Poland supports democratic and peaceful changes in South Africa as the best way to liquidate apartheid and to restore that country's place in the community of nations. We hope that such changes will also make it possible for all countries to develop normal relations with South Africa on the basis of mutual benefit. Such a course of events would widen the possibilities open to South Africa's inhabitants and enable them to overcome the international isolation felt also by Polish immigrants living there.

Poland will support those resolutions of the General Assembly that will facilitate the dismantling of apartheid by peaceful means.

Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): This year has been notable for the prospects which have opened and which have given the international community grounds for optimism about a new, post-cold-war stage in international relations. Notwithstanding the serious challenge and affront to our noble objectives constituted by the occupation of Kuwait, we are fully convinced of the irreversibility of the process of establishing a new, just and democratic world order. Considerable progress has been made on many of the problems on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. I am pleased to note that this year has also seen a reversal in the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.*

There is general agreement, which we have always supported, that the system of apartheid is an anachronism that cannot be reformed; rather, it must be completely dismantled as a form of racial oppression alien to the morals and ethics of modern civilized society. I should again like to express my country's view that it will be impossible to achieve lasting peace and co-operation in southern Africa without the establishment of a new constitutional order based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The experience of past years indicates that the system of apartheid can be eliminated only through the concerted efforts of the entire international community. The United Nations plays a very significant role in that respect. For decades resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have served as an indispensable tool for bringing pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime, and have become an important expression of political and moral support for the struggle of the democratic forces in South Africa.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

Prominent among those resolutions is the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. This document fully reflects the trend towards enhancing the role of the world Organization in solving the most complicated problems of our time. It is my Government's view that the road to a lasting political solution to the problems in the region passes through the practical implementation of the programme contained in it.

The processes under way in South Africa give us grounds for a considerable degree of optimism. Only one year ago we would have found them unbelievable. This illustrates once again the profound changes that have occurred in international relations. The release of the prominent fighter for civil rights and social justice, Nelson Mandela, and a number of other political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency in the country and of the ban on the activity of the African National Congress (ANC) and other democratic organizations and movements, as well as the difficult, but so far successful, negotiating process between the Government and the ANC, increase our expectations that the outstanding problems can be solved through constructive dialogue. In this respect, I should particularly like to stress the significance of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes for the consolidation of the negotiating process. We believe that the success of this process depends to a great extent on the participation of all forces committed to democratic change in South Africa.

My delegation is of the view that these processes are encouraging, and merit the support of the international community. As they continue, they should evolve into irreversible processes, and should lead to the elaboration of a democratic and non-racial alternative ensuring that in the country's future development the interests of all population strata and groups would be taken into account.

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

At the same time, I must emphasize that the process of change must still be enhanced and strengthened. The basic structures and legislation of apartheid remain unscathed. We still receive news of violations of basic human rights. The process of democratization is very fragile and has yet to penetrate all spheres of public life. The Government of South Africa must continue to demonstrate political goodwill, determination and consistency if the changes are to reach to the core of the system. The goals have been set correctly; what we now need is movement in the right direction. My country is confident of the democratic, humane and just future of South Africa.

Of particular concern to my delegation is the continued resort to violence, which could delay and threaten the constitutional process. It could also put at risk the positive achievements so far. We understand that the main cause for the wave of violence is the legacy of apartheid. At the same time, we are convinced that violence will lead nowhere, nor will it help to solve the complex problems that challenge South African society. Therefore, there should be no justification for violence.

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

We urge the Government of South Africa to take impartial measures to establish a climate free of violence. We appeal to all who are committed to the peaceful transition to a democratic society to assist the Government fully in curbing the senseless fighting in the country.

The sanctions imposed on and the isolation of the South African régime have proved instrumental in convincing it to start dismantling the system of apartheid. My delegation shares the position that the existing measures should be maintained as a tool of persuasion rather than of punishment. The international community should act in concert and with resolve, while at the same time demonstrating the utmost wisdom and avoiding any risk of hampering the process of change. In this regard we should not fail to recognize that further positive steps have been taken by the Government of South Africa since our deliberations in September at the resumed forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We hope that by early next year all apartheid legislation will have been repealed. In my delegation's view, the international reaction to events in South Africa should be a strict and appropriate reflection of their nature as well as of the pace and substance of the reforms aimed at the eradication of the very basis upon which the system of apartheid is built. In this connection due consideration should also be given to the expressed views of all movements and organizations in South Africa striving for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic State.

Guided by this approach, my country will continue to fulfil its binding international obligations. The Republic of Bulgaria will continue to support the democratic forces and movements opposing apartheid and to pay particular attention to the development of its co-operation with the front-line States.

Further, the Republic of Bulgaria will contribute actively to the efforts of the international community in support of the positive changes in the southern part

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

of Africa until the system of apartheid has been completely eliminated and the region has been turned into one of peace, good-neighbourly relations and co-operation.

Mr. TARI (Israel): My delegation has noted with satisfaction the process of change that has been set in motion in South Africa, as mentioned in the conclusions of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. We welcome the positive steps and reforms already undertaken, and the measures of openness announced, by the Government of South Africa, believing that this process will continue and succeed.

Israel's total rejection of apartheid is primarily and deeply rooted in Israel's culture, its religion, its tradition and its historical memory. It is based on the very nature of Jewish spirituality and morality and on our own historical experience through dark centuries of exile and persecution.

Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, the culmination of its political struggle for self-emancipation, freedom, equality and sovereignty. Zionism is the absolute opposite, the very antithesis, of racism. It has served as a model for many liberation movements throughout the world. In particular, distinguished champions of black-African freedom wished to emulate Zionism as a model for the liberation of their people from the yoke of colonialism and racism.

The contemporary Israeli society is open, pluralistic and democratic. It is also multiracial, comprising more than 100 different ethnic groups from all corners of the world. In recent years Israel has brought to its shores tens of thousands of black Jews and aborbed them, with love and deep sympathy, in its own national, cultural and social fabric.

Very strong affinities exist between the State of Israel and the African nations, affinities based on mutual respect and a shared sense of dignity and

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

enhanced by a common struggle for justice and equality. Since the creation of the State of Israel intimate and fraternal links of co-operation have indeed developed between Israel and many African States. Thousands of African experts have participated in Israel in programmes of technical co-operation in the fields of agriculture, irrigation, health administration and education, and it has been a privilege for many Israeli experts to contribute in Africa to creative technical and scientific endeavours.

As each year passes more and more African countries reject the Arab campaign aimed, for political reasons, at driving a wedge between the African continent and the State of Israel. More and more African nations and their leaders refuse to be influenced by distorted facts, travesties of the truth and outright lies.

In addition, the Government of Israel through a special fund, is extending assistance to the representatives and members of the South African black and coloured communities. Israel-based training programmes, focusing especially on comparative development, are organized for their benefit. A course on the role of the people's organizations in national community development was concluded some time ago. It was extended specifically to students from South African black communities. Altogether, almost 300 South African black leaders have in recent times participated in Israel in programmes of technical co-operation, health, education, culture, social development and agriculture. Israel is one of the very countries in the world that, out of solidarity, implements such constructive courses and training, and we call on other nations to act in the same spirit and manner.

I wish to emphasize again the cynical anti-Israel, Arab-propaganda manipulation of the apartheid issue. It is being used as a political tool in the obsessive campaign of hatred against Israel. One is led to believe that the false

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accusations made against Israel and the constant singling-out of my country without any respect for truth, honesty or even simple logic, are aimed at once more diverting the attention of the international community from the double-talk and hypocrisy of some of the Arab countries.

Israel's economic relations with South Africa are relatively insignificant. Its investments represent 0.1 per cent of the overall investments in South Africa. As for trade, according to the International Monetary Fund, Israel accounts for less than 0.5 per cent of South Africa's exports and 0.75 per cent of its imports.

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

On the other hand, studies by the Shipping Research Bureau in Amsterdam confirm beyond doubt that most of South Africa's oil imports come from Arab countries and that this percentage is constantly increasing. Mr. T. Froysnes, Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1985, stressed these crude facts in a statement before the Norwegian Parliament and said:

"Ninety-five per cent of the oil supplied to South Africa comes from Arab States on the Persian Gulf - one half of this in direct shipments."

More recent figures established by the Shipping Bureau on 8 October 1990 demonstrate this reality:

"In nearly all of the cases, ninety-one out of ninety-four, the tankers going to South Africa sailed from the Middle East, during the period 1987 - April 1990."

Over the period January 1979 to April 1990 the Shipping Research Bureau identified a total number of 441 oil deliveries to South Africa. These 441 tankers were capable of bringing about 86 million tonnes of crude oil to South Africa, covering more than half of South Africa's import needs. Most tankers - 309 - sailed from the Middle East; nearly 300 of these sailed from the Persian Gulf.

To sum up, we hope that negotiations among the various communities in South Africa will be carried out in an atmosphere free of inter- and intra-community violence so that they may lead to a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflict.

Mr. ASHEEKE (Namibia): The Government and people of the Republic of Namibia are following the debate on the policies and practices of apartheid of the Government of South Africa in the hope that it will yield tangible results for the oppressed people of that sister country.

At the outset, we would like to stress the need for a firm and united stand against this diabolic and inhuman system, which for too long has caused death,

(Mr. Asheeke, Namibia)

suffering and destruction in South Africa and in our region as a whole. It is in the interests of humanity to ensure that the shame that apartheid represents is removed from the face of the Earth as we enter the twenty-first century.

Not long ago this Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. That unanimous decision demonstrated, for the first time, a unity of purpose among all Member States and, most important, it provided a common basis for future action in support of a democratic dispensation in South Africa. Subsequently, the Assembly adopted, by consensus, resolution 44/244 of 17 September 1990, in which it reaffirmed the continuing solidarity of the international community with the people of South Africa. This certainly was another milestone in our common resolve to end apartheid.

Both documents, together with the Harare Declaration and the report of the summit meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa adopted in Kampala earlier this year, had one thing in common, namely, that despite some positive developments which have taken place in South Africa, we have yet to arrive at a stage which will signify profound and irreversible change. Against this background my delegation expresses its sincere hope that the Assembly will be critical in its assessment of the current situation in South Africa, with a view to encouraging genuine change.

I take this opportunity to renew our solidarity with, and support for, the courageous and fraternal people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, in their just struggle for freedom and justice. Theirs has always been a common struggle, for we are bound together by similar aspirations, history, geography, and certainly a shared future. We are convinced that their just

(Mr. Asheeke, Namibia)

struggle will finally be crowned with victory. It is our sincere wish that the day of freedom will come sooner rather than later.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid presented by its Chairman, Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, bears witness to the fact that, unfortunately, little has changed since the adoption of the Declaration on apartheid. This is a sad reminder that, contrary to the wishes of those who would rather have the international community relax its efforts, it remains a solemn duty and responsibility of the United Nations to ensure that the oppressed people of South Africa are not abandoned at this critical time of their struggle for justice. We are convinced that the road to victory is not as long as the road travelled by the valiant people of South Africa so far, but we also know that the road to the finish line is fraught with danger and that hard work and vigilance are required of all of us.

It is a matter of concern that the current initiatives have not yet gone so far as to address the substance of the question of removing the system of apartheid. Meanwhile, the continuing violence, in which the Government cannot claim innocence, is cause for grave concern. It is ironic, and indeed regrettable, that so many lives have been lost in the course of recent months in South Africa, a period which ought to have presented hope for the people of South Africa. Even today, black families impoverished by apartheid are still being forcibly removed from their homes and pushed into the vicious cycle of destitution and homelessness. The dark cloud of imprisonment, detention and torture still shrouds the opponents of apartheid.

Needless to say, the system of apartheid is still in place in South Africa. Its main pillars, namely the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Bantu Education Act and the bantustan system, remain intact. Added to these unjust and repressive laws is the Act which created the so-called

(Mr. Asheeke, Namibia)

tri-cameral parliament. That Act seeks to further divide the oppressed majority and make the black population not only voteless, but worst of all, non-citizens in the land of their birth.

As is common knowledge, apartheid has not only deprived the oppressed majority of their basic and fundamental rights and caused death and destruction in South Africa, it has also caused wounds and scars in neighbouring countries, which will take a long time to heal.

Our preoccupation that everything must be done to ensure the complete destruction of apartheid is born out of this sad truth, which our detractors often and wilfully forget. The existence of apartheid is a threat to peace and security, not only in southern Africa, but to humankind as a whole.

(Mr. Asheeke, Namibia)

In this connection, there is no need to emphasize the fact that, when it comes to apartheid, no honest person can pretend to know better than the victims of that inhuman system, who have suffered colonialism, aggression, occupation, destabilization, humiliation and brutality. These ills have crippled our region for too long and their effects will be with us for years to come. It is therefore imperative that the international community remain united and firm in the struggle to end apartheid, racism and all that they represent and to bring about a new South Africa, where freedom, justice, equality and peace will be realized.

It is the strong wish of the Government and people of Namibia that the discussions that have begun between the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the De Klerk Government reach the level of substantive issues of constitutional dispensation. We all hope that they will be successful but, until we can be sure, it is only fair to be cautious. We are disturbed to hear of attempts to prevent the safe and unhindered return of exiles to their motherland. Such actions can only serve to endanger the process, and could even derail it.

In any case, it would be a tragedy if the glimmer of hope now prevailing were to be allowed to fade. It is in the interest of the De Klerk Government to make sure that it does not engage in actions that make its commitment to genuine change questionable. The oppressed people of South Africa, and the international community in general, want to see the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Until that is achieved, the least that the international community can do to encourage the desired change in that troubled sister country is maintain the existing measures, including sanctions.

(Mr. Asheeke, Namibia)

I would like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its dedicated work in support of the struggle for freedom, democracy and justice in South Africa. We wish the Committee fortitude in fulfilling its vital mission.

I once again express the strong desire of my Government to welcome soon a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa to the community of nations. We are all called upon to redouble our efforts to that end.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary): The world we live in today has changed greatly from the one we knew barely a year ago. The political ice-age has come to an end, and thus a new system of international relations has started to take shape. This period has witnessed historic changes, not only in Europe but in other continents as well. An eloquent example of these processes is to be found in the southern part of the African continent. Namibia's independence and the positive developments in South Africa itself hold the promise of a new era in that region of the world.

Hungary has always rejected all forms of discrimination based on race or ethnic or national origin. The Hungarian Government has repeatedly stated its condemnation of institutionalized State racism, of apartheid in South Africa, which remains the most abhorrent form of racial discrimination. This debate in the General Assembly provides us with an opportunity to reaffirm our total rejection of the evil system of apartheid. We have constantly raised our voice in favour of the complete eradication of the apartheid system by peaceful means, and without delay, and its replacement by a democratic, united and non-racial society.*

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* Mr. Sutresna (Indonesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

In recent months there have been significant developments in South Africa, in particular the commitment by the Government of South Africa to abolishing the apartheid system and the decision of the African National Congress (ANC) to suspend the armed struggle. In full agreement with the Secretary-General, we believe that South Africa has reached the threshold of a new era. The process of dialogue has been set in motion. Hungary welcomes the talks initiated between the Government of South Africa and the ANC, the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties and movements, and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Just over a year ago there was little indication that such substantial changes could occur so quickly. But one should not forget that for the people suffering from the inhuman system of apartheid no pace of change can be quick enough. We therefore encourage the South African Government to proceed with the fulfilment of its promise to do away with the remaining pillars of apartheid, to abolish all discriminatory laws, to release all political prisoners and to allow the return of the exiles. Such actions will do much to convince the world that, as some Member States already contend, the process of change in South Africa is profound and irreversible.

We are well aware, however, that a long and difficult road lies ahead. A good deal remains to be done before each and every South African can live by the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The violence in South Africa, which could jeopardize certain positive developments and make the realization of these human rights principles ever more difficult, is a matter of grave concern to my Government. It is therefore right and essential to expect that the South African authorites and all the responsible political forces in that

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

country will do their utmost to stop the violence in an expeditious and impartial manner. Hungary urges the parties concerned to solve their differences by means of peaceful dialogue. If they do not, continued disturbances will become a serious impediment to the negotiations on the new constitution. They must all know that the future of their country is at stake.

The rejection of apartheid by the United Nations is unequivocal. For over four decades this Organization has spoken out clearly and loudly on the problem. At its special session nearly a year ago the General Assembly adopted a Declaration which encouraged the people of South Africa to join in efforts to bring about an end to apartheid and to work for a peaceful transition to a non-racial, democratic South Africa. The consensus resolution of last September reaffirmed the unity of the States Members in their opposition to apartheid.

Given the paramount importance we all attach to the dismantling of apartheid, it is more than desirable to preserve a consensus in the world Organization on that issue. But the only draft resolutions that merit unanimous endorsement by Member States are those that seek to reflect the changing realities and to promote the political process unfolding in South Africa, offering encouraging prospects for the total abolition of apartheid. In this respect, the responsibility lies not only with the Member States of the United Nations but also with the Special Committee against Apartheid and the United Nations Centre against Apartheid.

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Both the Special Committee and its supreme body, the General Assembly, should look for the most appropriate ways and means of reaching our common objective, the abolition of the remaining legal and political anachronisms in South Africa. Likewise, it is our belief that the Centre against Apartheid ought to make more efforts to verify information disseminated among Member States and to seek out the views and comments of the respective Permanent Missions. Otherwise the reputation of the United Nations and the credibility of its organs could be undermined and the efforts aimed at reaching consensus on an issue of such vital importance as the struggle against apartheid could be thwarted.

Motivated by its strong commitment to the international community's endeavours against apartheid, Hungary joined the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid as one of its founding members and remained there until its recent withdrawal. We consider that thus far the Committee has played an important role in mobilizing the international community against apartheid. It is our conviction that Hungary, like other countries not members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, can make a useful contribution in the world Organization to the international efforts directed towards achieving a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

In our view, pressure and encouragement have to be carefully applied if they are to achieve the aim we all share - namely, the emergence of a new South Africa, rid once and for all of the vestiges of a profoundly unjust system. The resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly do not prevent countries from making, in this extremely rapidly changing world of ours, their own judgements about how to respond to positive moves by the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Hungary believes that the process of change in moving away from apartheid towards a new political system deserves and requires international support.

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Therefore it wishes, within its modest means, to encourage, through dialogue, all steps aiming at the complete dismantling of the apartheid by peaceful means.

Mr. CHIARADIA (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again the international community is meeting to discuss an issue that is a continued affront to the conscience of all mankind, that is, the system of apartheid.

We are participating in this debate in the hope that this will be one of the last General Assembly sessions to include this item on its agenda but that we can continue to monitor the implementation of the principles of the Charter with the co-operation of a democratic, non-racist South Africa.

This month it will be one year since the General Assembly, by adopting unanimously the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, expressed the entire international community's support for the intensification by the parties concerned of their quest for political means to put an end to apartheid through negotiations.

That commitment was reaffirmed in September this year in resolution 44/244, also adopted by consensus, in which the General Assembly, while welcoming the progress achieved towards eliminating obstacles to the commencement of negotiations, determined that the South African Government needed to take further steps. Argentina, of course, completely supports the views that led to the adoption of that resolution and remains ready to contribute to its genuine implementation.

Argentina again strongly condemns the policy of apartheid and expresses its solidarity with the victims of apartheid. Discrimination, for any reason, is incompatible with the principles on which the Republic of Argentina is based. Aware, none the less, that declarations are not enough, my country has adopted concrete measures against South Africa and believes that, before it considers the

(Mr. Chiaradia, Argentina)

possibility of attenuating those measures, South Africa must make the profound and irreversible changes required by the international community. In this respect, Argentina is applying all the measures against South Africa recommended by the General Assembly as well as the sanctions, both voluntary and mandatory, provided for in Security Council resolutions.

In this framework, and among other measures, in 1986 Argentina broke diplomatic relations with South Africa. It is scrupulously complying with the embargo on arms or military materiel against South Africa. It is complying with the boycott of South African sports and cultural activities by demanding that those entering the country with a South African passport make a sworn statement that it is not their intention to participate in sports. Also, Argentina ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. All these actions reflect Argentina's firm support of the struggle against racial discrimination.

During the past few months the Pretoria Administration has taken encouraging steps in the right direction. We welcome this attitude and recognize the efforts that have been made. We welcome in particular the lifting of the ban against the African National Congress and other organizations; the release of Nelson Mandela and the decisions on the release of other political prisoners and the amnesty of exiles; the lifting of the state of emergency; the talks between the African National Congress and the Government of South Africa; and the laying of the groundwork for the beginning of negotiations on a new constitution. We hope that this attitude will continue to be shown and indeed will be intensified, with the sole purpose of eradicating the policy of apartheid.

(Mr. Chiaradia, Argentina)

The South African Government must understand that partial reform of the racist policy is not enough and that the international community will not relax its demands and condemnations until apartheid is eradicated. That is why we urge the Government of Pretoria to repeal the Internal Security Act and other legislative provisions, known as the pillars of apartheid, which remain in force. These provisions are designed to restrain political activity and do not contribute to the establishment of a climate conducive to negotiations.

(Mr. Chiaradia, Argentina)

Argentina wishes to commend the constructive role played by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) in this new process of dialogue and that organization's decision to suspend the armed struggle with a view to achieving national reconciliation and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We also express our hope that negotiations on a new constitution will begin very soon and that all political forces will participate in a constructive spirit so that the agreement reached on this question may constitute the cornerstone of a new South Africa.

Mr. FUENTES IBAÑEZ (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): The Bolivian delegation cannot remain silent in the debate on the item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" - one of the crucial problems on the agenda of the United Nations since the very beginning of the Organization.

The road travelled thus far has been painful and slow. It has been a long process, one in which hope and discouragement, frustration and success have alternated and intermingled, and we are still far from achieving the outcome that the cause deserves. Our stated objective calls into play all the grave responsibilities involved in a struggle to attain respect for human rights as a substantive element in the principles proclaimed by the Charter.

The large population of the vast territories of the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and South West Africa has been suffering the evils of apartheid - a heinous policy, a routine, everyday practice, a system of government based on the most blatant racial discrimination, with its sequel of oppression and humiliating treatment, which denigrates the status of the human being, turning him into a mere object of exploitation. At the present stage in the social development of our world this is a completely anachronistic situation. In this way, and under the allegedly sound pretext of wanting to incorporate these territories and their

(Mr. Fuentes Ibañez, Bolivia)

inhabitants into the system, under the pretext of a developing separate cultures, a cloud has been cast over history, and blood has stained the landscape of one of the most beautiful regions of our world - that part of the African continent that extends, like an enormous cornucopia, between the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.

We are not unaware of the fact that in the past two decades the painful process of liberation has had to give way to the heroic thrust that led to the independence of two of the territories in the region that for many years had suffered the tragedy of colonial dependence, with the shameful aberration of racial discrimination, legislated and transformed into a norm of government through the system of apartheid. I am referring, of course, to Zimbabwe and Namibia, which today are Members of this Organization. But there remains a large portion of Africa - the most densely populated and the most highly developed part of the region.

In the year that is coming to a close the international community welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela and received with joy the resumption by this great patriot of the full exercise of the political leadership of his people. We welcomed also the measures aimed at attenuating certain odious aspects of discriminatory legislation. We did so, confident that the President of South Africa, Mr. De Klerk, would not delay completion of his reforms with the total eradication of apartheid. Unfortunately, so far this has not happened. We consider the measures that have been adopted to be an initial but definitive step out of the darkness into the light - a clear message of hope and encouragement to the long-suffering people of South Africa, an indication of compliance with the political will of the free world, expressed through resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Mr. Fuentes Ibañez, Bolivia)

None the less, and in spite of the time that has elapsed, we note with concern that, on the threshold of the twenty-first century, the situation remains unchanged. Clearly, the initiative of a realistic leader has not been enough to break down the wall of prejudice and racist blindness that oppresses the people of South Africa. The measures that have been implemented are mere palliatives - a superficial patchwork that leaves unchanged the profound mental distortion that characterizes any fanaticism and isolates its adherents from the rest of mankind. It is impossible to think otherwise so long as the Internal Security Act of 1982 remains in force. This Act allows the police to detain any person for an indefinite period. It is a measure under which hundreds of persons continue to suffer detention and torture or to disappear, and such people have no right to legal defence or to a trial before a competent tribunal.

Government actions that reflect just decisions cannot and must not be limited to expressions of good intent but of uncertain effect. They require responsible decision-making that goes beyond palliatives or cosmetic changes. Anything else would mean maintaining, by deception, the legislation on the system of apartheid - an evil that requires total, absolute and unambiguous repeal by those who hold power arbitrarily.

Needless to say, the Bolivian Government cannot associate itself with those who support the suspension of sanctions against South Africa. To suspend sanctions would be to leave the people of South Africa and the good intentions of the Government of Mr. De Klerk prey to the will of the most recalcitrant sectors of the racist minority in Pretoria, who, in their brazen rebellion, might try to prolong indefinitely a régime and a system so often condemned by the international community and by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations.

Mr. SUAREZ (Philippines): Since our collective assessment, in September this year, of the progress in implementing the historic Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, the Philippines has failed to perceive much evidence of profound and irreversible change in South Africa to anchor the hope that we had for the early and final demise of apartheid.

In saying this we do not underestimate the many positive developments that have taken place since the year began. In fact, we were heartened by the process of change that was set in motion in South Africa. The Philippines welcomed the measures towards reform announced by President De Klerk in February this year. We rejoiced at the release of the leader of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, and many other political prisoners who were long incarcerated for valiantly resisting apartheid. We welcomed the lifting of the ban on political-opposition organizations. Most of all, we were pleased at the initiation of "talks about talks" between the representatives of the ANC and the South African Government to remove obstacles to negotiations on the fate of South Africa.

(Mr. Suarez, Philippines)

While these developments are significant, the resulting changes that have taken place lack the fundamental character which could help transform South Africa into what we envisage, a united, democratic and non-racial society. According to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, many political prisoners are still imprisoned, only a handful of exiles have been allowed to return with indemnity, troops still move in on out of townships, and some political trials are still under way.

More important, the basic pillars of apartheid remain firmly rooted. In spite of the lifting of the state of emergency in all areas of the country except Natal, political activity remains curtailed under a series of repressive laws, specifically, the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act.

The Population Registration Act number 30 of 1950, a cornerstone of apartheid, continues to prescribe the registration at birth of all citizens as being white, Asian, black or coloured, with the last three I mentioned deemed to be black.

The Native Lands Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 continue to uphold the principle of territorial segregation, which dictates where blacks and whites can acquire and occupy land, in separate, designated areas; this constitutes the basis for the division of South Africa into 10 ethnically divided homelands or Bantustans.

Moreover, the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No. 110 of 1983, which established the racially segregated tricameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Asians, continues to deny the black population the vote.

Only the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 of 1953 has recently been repealed, by the passage of the Public Amenities Repeal Act which, in theory, ended racial segregation in public facilities. Reports, however, indicate that resistance to racial integration has developed in several areas of the country

(Mr. Suarez, Philippines)

where municipalities are using their discretion to allow only residents the use of public facilities, in effect nullifying the intent of the repeal of Act No. 49. The Philippines is distressed that in this day and age such inhuman policies and practices can still flourish.

In this regard, the Philippines calls upon the South African régime to repeal this repressive legislation immediately, in keeping with its announcement of its intention to do so. South African society can never hope to see the dawn of change if it remains afflicted by the political, economic and social disparities engendered by the odious apartheid system.

Let me now turn to the subject of violence in South Africa, which has been the subject of extensive press coverage. The wave of violence by forces opposed to the democratic transformation of the society, as well as the violent disputes among political organizations, are of deep concern to the Philippines. We are saddened by the deaths from this senseless violence, including those of 71 people reported by The New York Times yesterday.

We agree with the observation of the Special Committee against Apartheid that violence is becoming a threat to the fragile process of negotiation, and could lead to the creation of a permanent conflict, the consequences of which would be most grave. In our view, the situation is intolerable. We urge the South African authorities to take measures to put an end to the prevailing violence by ensuring effective and impartial action by the security forces. We also call upon all parties concerned to contribute to the promotion and establishment of a climate free of violence.

The Philippines is steadfast in its adherence to the principles enshrined in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

(Mr. Suarez, Philippines)

In particular, we are in full accord with the guidelines to the process of negotiation and the programme of action contained in the Declaration. We view the conditions laid down by the Declaration as the yardstick against which we should measure progress in creating a climate conducive to negotiations.

In this regard, we hope that the current talks between the South African authorities and the African National Congress (ANC) will lead to the removal of the many obstacles to negotiations. We realize that the process is complex, difficult and fraught with dangers. We express the hope, however, that the current process can be broadened so that representative sectors of South African society can participate.

We applaud Mr. Mandela's role, and also the ANC's decision to suspend armed hostilities in order to promote the present process of change in South Africa. This process should culminate in the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa, based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Our ultimate objective is the complete and final eradication of apartheid. We cannot for long share in the shame of tolerating such an inhuman and unjust system. As a community of nations, we have the obligation to right wrongs whenever and wherever they occur. Collectively, we can achieve this by maintaining comprehensive sanctions on South Africa until we clearly see that all the pillars of apartheid have finally been broken down.

Apartheid is a kind of wrong which cries out loud for redress, for apartheid denies the dignity of the human person and violates all canons of human decency. Respect for the human person, irrespective of his race, colour, creed or religion, knows no boundaries. How we deal with South Africa now will put all our protestations of respect for the human person to the test.

Mr. PERERA (Sri Lanka): During the period since we last had this item under review, the United Nations has witnessed two major events pertaining to the African continent. The independence of Namibia marked a significant achievement by gaining the freedom of a people who long suffered under the régime of South Africa. The Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, marked another significant development.

This Declaration made a decisive contribution to a process leading towards a peaceful end to the suffering of the South African black majority people under an institutionalized system of racial segregation and discrimination. The Declaration also set forth several steps that the South African régime should initiate in order to create the necessary climate for negotiations.

Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be eradicated. Any measures undertaken in this direction must lead to a new South Africa based on democratic principles, including the right to participate in a political system with common and equal citizenship and a universal franchise.

As stated in the report of the Special Committee, South Africa has entered a process of change that may lead to the end of apartheid through negotiation. While we have witnessed some positive developments in South Africa in the recent past, such as the release of political prisoners, including Mr. Nelson Mandela, and the lifting of the ban on political parties, the pillars of apartheid have yet to be removed. The South African Government has yet to take meaningful measures to demonstrate its genuine desire to achieve the goal of ending the apartheid system through negotiation.

(Mr. Perera, Sri Lanka)

In this regard, the lack of full freedom for the black majority of South Africa to engage in free political activity prevents them from exercising their legitimate right to prepare themselves to enter the political process. The lifting of bans and restrictions on all proscribed political organizations while the repressive laws in force which were established under the apartheid system are retained has hampered the free political activity of these organizations. Further, the very fact that terror and violence are being unleashed on the once proscribed African parties by extremists, together with certain elements in the security forces, necessarily impedes the process by which these parties are gearing themselves to a new political existence.

(Mr. Perera, Sri Lanka)

The segregationist policies of the apartheid system and the resulting economic and social disparities in such areas as land, housing, education and unemployment have virtually made the black majority foreigners in their own land. These inequalities must be redressed without further delay if apartheid is to be eliminated. Here again, the people must be free to express their views without any hindrance by the opposing forces.

In all these spheres, the responsibility lies with the Pretoria régime to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful change. To do otherwise or to ignore the voice and legitimate rights of the people who have suffered long enough under apartheid would be to set the clock back.

The objective of creating a healthy, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa can be achieved only with the participation of all representative sectors of the South African society. For this purpose, the path should be cleared of all obstacles to the black majority people of South Africa entering the mainstream and becoming an integral part of any future political system.

In conclusion, we believe that the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa remains the most authentic document reflecting the determination and efforts of the international community to end apartheid through negotiations. In this context, the international community should continue to take effective measures to persuade South Africa to comply with the programme of action outlined in the Declaration. On behalf of the Government of Sri Lanka, I reaffirm our unreserved support for the Declaration, and for the endeavours of the United Nations.

Mr. McLEAN (Canada): As the Assembly considers the issue of apartheid for the third time in a year, South Africa's transition is entering a difficult, delicate, even dangerous, phase.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

As we all know, for six magic months, from the opening of Parliament last February to the Pretoria Minute in August developments unfolded with amazing speed. Unfortunately, the pace of change outran the capacity of individuals and parties to adapt. Doubts and fears appeared, as well as divisions and rivalries, in both the black and the white populations of South Africa. The past four months have been spent in digesting the impact of change and dealing with its many ramifications.

Canada is shocked and saddened that communal violence has again reared its ugly head in recent days. Its sources are many and varied, from the actions of individuals in an immediate local context to the long-term national tragedy of apartheid. But what is striking is that the parties involved and the Government are all pledged to seek a negotiated end to apartheid. This essential common goal is surely at risk if violence continues. How it started matters less than how it will stop.

We in Canada therefore urge all leaders to exercise restraint and wisdom, to turn away from violence, and to work together towards the shared aim of a peacefully negotiated solution and a democratic, just South Africa. It is the leaders who must lead the way. We ask them and those who look to them for direction to set aside considerations of personal and short-term advantage and narrow partisan differences in the interest of their common purpose, which is of overriding importance. We call upon the South African Government, in addition, to ensure the effective and impartial action of the security forces, which must at all times, even under provocation, act judiciously and with great restraint.

Beyond this, there is an urgent need to foster the culture of political tolerance that has been conspicuously lacking in South Africa's past. Democratic rights, such as the right of peaceful assembly, go hand-in-hand with democratic duties, such as the duty to accept diversity. Representatives will recall that

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

last year, for example, in the heat of their election campaign, Namibia's political parties found it useful to negotiate a code of conduct. Is this not a constructive example that South African parties may wish to build upon at this moment as a confidence-building measure?

We are very much aware that violence and tolerance are issues for South Africans themselves to resolve. The role of the international community at this moment is to provide humanitarian assistance, friendly counsel and advice. But, should the time come when the parties agree on a larger international role, Canada stands ready to help in practical ways.

Four months ago the African National Congress and the Government agreed that the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution. They invited other parties committed to peaceful progress to join them on this path. Those negotiations will not be easy, nor will they be short, but they must begin. We hope that the process will be open to all parties that wish to contribute and that early, unanimous agreement can be reached on principles to guide the detailed work of drafting the constitution. We hope that the final outcome will be submitted to the verdict of all South Africans.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told Nelson Mandela when he addressed the Canadian Parliament in June:

> "The fight against apartheid has long been a central element of Canada's foreign policy, both because the cause is so compelling and because we believe this is one of those issues where Canada can help make a difference."

Over the years, our primary objective has always been to promote authentic negotiations on a non-racial democracy. Now we can do so more directly. Canada is providing $1.8 million this year to make constitutional expertise available to all the parties, to support research aimed at filling gaps to help level the playing

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

field, and to make possible the convening of conferences on issues and options for post-apartheid South Africa. Next year this support for negotiations will rise to $2.3 million.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

In the meantime there is much to be done. Fewer than one quarter of all political prisoners have been released 10 months after Nelson Mandela's release. The rest are required to go through a complex procedure for applying for indemnity. Dozens remain on death row and over a hundred are in detention without trial. It is time the Government of South Africa realized that the fate of political prisoners is central both to the negotiating process and to the international response. It is time the Government treated fellow South Africans with the same generosity it showed towards Namibian political prisoners last year. Surely this is the way to true reconciliation.

Similarly, in the case of exiles there is a need for greater speed; there is a need for greater vision. They have a vital contribution to make in preparing their parties for the coming negotiations. As a timely case in point, if the Government really wants to encourage the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to join the negotiations, it will allow the party's exiled leaders a brief stay to attend the convention later this week and it will allow them to return to South Africa without condition.

Progress is now in sight. In September, from this rostrum I joined with others in calling for a role for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in assisting returning refugees. After months of talks, agreement in principle has been reached to give the UNHCR a leading role in repatriating exiles. Canada has pledged some $5.8 million for the repatriation and settlement of exiles and political prisoners. These funds will be provided through multilateral and non-governmental channels for the benefit of all exiles and prisoners, regardless of their political affiliation. With the full collaboration of all concerned, it will be possible for most of the exiles to return to South Africa by the target date of next April.

On the legislative front, we welcome the lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act. Both were done in October. We look

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

forward to the promised repeal of two more pillars of apartheid: the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. It must, however, be observed that the Assembly has also called by consensus for the repeal of the Internal Security Act. The government itself has pledged to review the Act and to repeal its politically offensive provisions. Among these we would single out indefinite incommunicado detention without trial under section 29 and the banning of public gatherings under section 46. The Government has recently shown that without resorting to the Internal Security Act it can ensure public safety using the powers available under other legislation.

Sanctions were originally imposed to encourage negotiations. There was a broad consensus, as all of us here know, in the 1980s that they were necessary and many countries acted accordingly. Last year in the debate here we reached a consensus on maintaining existing measures until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible change. Canada continues fully to support that position. Indeed, the Commonwealth can justly claim a measure of leadership, both in helping to shape this consensus last fall in Kuala Lumpur and in upholding it this spring in Abuja, Nigeria.

Where do we go from here? It is clear that much more remains to be done to establish a climate fully conducive to free political activity in South Africa. It is equally clear that the coming months can see great strides toward that objective. We can see the launching of formal constitutional negotiations, we can see a substantial homecoming for prisoners and exiles, we can see major action on legislative reform. If, as and when this happens, we shall be much closer to irreversible change.

Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk have invited the world to walk the last mile with the people of South Africa. Let us pledge ourselves here in the General Assembly to walk that last mile with them.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX), of 10 October 1975, I now call on the Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Mr. ANSAY (Organization of the Islamic Conference): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to address the General Assembly on an issue of extreme importance to our Organization.

The recent changes in the global political landscape, accompanied by the surge in manifestations of fundamental freedoms and a renewed emphasis on respect for human rights, make it imperative that the international community should accelerate its campaign to achieve the total elimination of apartheid.

The United Nations has affirmed repeatedly that the policy of apartheid is a crime against humanity, incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it seriously undermines international peace and security. It has also affirmed that the total eradication of apartheid and thus the creation of a free, united and democratic system constitute the necessary steps towards the establishment of a non-racial society based on self-determination and majority rule through free and fair elections.

The adoption by consensus of the historic Declaration on Apartheid at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, last year, underlined the urgent need to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy through a new constitutional order determined by the people of South Africa and based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Inspired by sublime principles and humanitarian concepts, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the whole Islamic Ummah reject racial segregation; declares their adherence to human rights and to a life of freedom and dignity; and express their total support for the people of South Africa and the other peoples still groaning under the yoke of racism.

(Mr. Ansay, Organization of the Islamic Conference)

Despite the joy felt by the Islamic Ummah on the occasion of the liberation of Mr. Nelson Mandela, one of the most prominent figures in the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid and racial discrimination, the efforts must continue everywhere to work side by side with the people of South Africa and the peace-loving forces for the rapid and total eradication of apartheid and for the advent in South Africa of a multi-racial, democratic and egalitarian society; for the lifting of all restrictions against the black population; for the liberation of all political prisoners; for the dismantlement of bantustans; and for the cessation of the criminal incursions of the armed gangs against the front-line States.

We continue to believe that, as Mr. Nelson Mandela has said during his visits to various capitals of the world, it is imperative that increased pressure should be exercised on South Africa to embark truly on the process of the dismantlement of apartheid and the establishment of a new constitutional order determined by the people of South Africa and based on the principles and ideals cherished by humanity and contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Ansay, Organization of the Islamic Conference)

It is quite evident that the change that has taken place so far in South Africa, even if unquestionably noteworthy, has not yet become irreversible; the basic structure of apartheid remains firmly in place and so do the socio-economic inequities and racial attitudes which have been nurtured by decades of racial hatred, suspicion and injustice. Of course, it needs patience, understanding, time and statesmanship on the part of all concerned before the decades-old hostilities and deep mistrust can be reduced, let alone eliminated.

The healing touch and the building up of confidence and trust in each other are important as concrete steps in eradicating the vestiges of apartheid. The majority of the South African people have for a long favoured a political settlement. The announcement by the African National Congress of South Africa of the suspension of all armed action once again demonstrates their preference for a peaceful end to apartheid through negotiations.

In the Organization of the Islamic Conference we believe that any optimism over the present climate cannot overshadow our commitment to giving full support to the parties concerned, who will negotiate the final eradication of apartheid. To ensure that process, however, international pressure on South Africa through comprehensive sanctions and other appropriate measures must remain in place for as long as it is required. The following words of wisdom of Mr. Nelson Mandela, in his historic statement to the Special Committee against Apartheid in June 1990, reflect our sentiments accurately:

> "nothing which has happened in South Africa calls for a revision of the positions that this Organization has taken in its struggle against apartheid. We therefore strongly urge that there should be no relaxation of existing measures. The sanctions that have been imposed by the United Nations and by individual Governments should remain in place." (A/44/960, p. 105)

(Mr. Ansay, Organization of the Islamic Conference)

The lucid report (A/44/960) of the Secretary-General, whose untiring efforts have contributed immensely both to the independence of Namibia and to the recent positive developments in South Africa, a report prepared on the basis of information collected by the team that visited South Africa, and the well-prepared, comprehensive report (A/45/22) of the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, encourage us to view the future with some hope. Since we met last year during the forty-fourth session and the sixteenth special session some important and encouraging steps have been taken, and the situation in South Africa has finally begun to evolve in the right direction.

It is in this context that we welcome reports that leaders representing most of the spectrum of black African politicians in South Africa recently met under the auspices of Archbishop Desmond Tutu to try to promote mutual tolerance and put an end to the deplorable factional violence which has for a long time been deeply hurting the black South African communities. We ardently hope that the next steps on this arduous path will be the release of all political prisoners, the return of the exiles and the advent of meaningful and constructive constitutional talks.

In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm once again the continued solidarity of the Organization of the Islamic Conference with the people of South Africa in their struggle for the complete elimination of apartheid and for the establishment of majority rule in Azania.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 21 September 1990, I call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. MBEKI (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): At its sixteenth special session, a year ago, the General Assembly adopted by consensus the "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa". The ANC welcomed this development as a historic contribution to the struggle of the peoples of the world to end the apartheid crime against humanity.

We meet here today, one year after that historic document was adopted, once more to discuss the question of apartheid. This discussion is necessary because, regardless of the important developments that have taken place in South Africa during the last 12 months, the system of apartheid has not yet been abolished.

The possibilities contained in both the Harare and the United Nations Declarations for the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy have not yet been realized. South Africa continues to be ruled by a white minority régime which does not derive its authority from all the people of our country. South Africa continues to be governed according to a Constitution which the Security Council has determined to be null and void.

Clearly, the international community has a continuing responsibility to support and assist the people of our country in the continuing struggle to attain the objectives contained in the Declaration on southern Africa and other United Nations resolutions.

Accordingly, the ANC is of the firm view that existing international measures aimed at putting pressure on the Pretoria régime should be maintained. At the same time, it is vital that all necessary moral and material assistance be extended to the forces struggling for the democratic transformation of South Africa to strengthen their capacity to act for the speedy resolution of the South African question.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

Thanks to the unwavering struggle of the people of our country and the persistent efforts of the international community in support of that struggle, important changes have taken place within South Africa. These victories have occurred not because of a change of heart on the part of those responsible for the construction of the criminal system of apartheid, but because they have come to realize that this system can no longer be maintained.

When it took power in South Africa 42 years ago the present ruling party had one central objective in mind: the maintenance and entrenchment of the system of white minority domination by all means and methods in its power. To achieve this, it resolved to resort to extreme repression to destroy or render ineffective all those forces genuinely opposed to the system. Ultimately this extended to a campaign of aggression and destabilization against the independent States of southern Africa to force them to abandon their opposition to the apartheid system and acquiesce in Pretoria's domination.

At the same, the apartheid régime introduced its programme of so-called separate development, which resulted in the creation of puppet bantustan States and the present racist tricameral Parliament. As the Assembly knows, many other laws were put on the statute book to divide the people of South Africa into racial and ethnic groups under the domination of the white minority.

In his speech to the tricameral Parliament on 2 February, Pretoria's State President, F. W. de Klerk, announced the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other organizations, and declared his readiness to enter into negotiations with these and other formations.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

As reflected in the comprehensive report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, De Klerk also committed himself to what he described as

"a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour, constitutional, social and economic". (A/45/22, para. 31)

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

The critical point about these developments, including the release of Nelson Mandela after 27 years of imprisonment, is that they constituted an open admission on the part of the régime that it could no longer sustain the policy it had pursued for four decades. It now spoke of equal constitutional, social and economic rights whereas, before, it had stripped the majority of its rights, institutionalized racial inequalities and upheld a system of white minority domination.

By lifting the bans on the ANC and other organizations, it also conceded that it did not have the strength to wipe out the democratic movement of our country and deny it the possibility to help determine the destiny of our people, as it had attempted as from 1950, when it banned the Communist Party of South Africa.

After careful consideration of these developments, the ANC arrived at the conclusion that the possibility had emerged to begin the process which could lead to a negotiated resolution of the South African question, in keeping with our own long-standing demand and in accordance with the view of the international community, as expressed in both the Harare and the United Nations Declarations.

Accordingly, the ANC has been involved in talks with the Pretoria régime since 2 May 1990. The purpose of these talks has been to create a climate conducive to negotiations by removing the obstacles to negotiations as identified in both the Harare and the United Nations Declarations.

Agreement has now been reached to remove all these obstacles, including the release of political prisoners and detainees, the ending of political trials and executions, the return of the exiles, the repeal of repressive legislation and the ending of the state of emergency.

We must, however, make the point that there is a distinct and obvious difference between the conclusion of these agreements and their implementation.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

While it is true that the state of emergency has been lifted, the concrete reality is that the rest of the agreements have not yet been implemented.

The majority of political prisoners remain in jail. Political trials have not been terminated. Security legislation continues to be applied, with people still being detained without trial. This same legislation is used to prohibit peaceful demonstrations, some of which, in addition, the police continue to disperse with maximum force, resulting in the death of unarmed people.

The objective reality is, therefore, that the very first phase visualized in the Declaration on South Africa, namely, the removal of obstacles to negotiations, has not yet been completed.

We must also make the point that up to now, the régime has failed to protect the people from the violence both of its own security forces and of vigilante groups. The number of people who have been killed by both these elements since 2 February is staggering and truly disturbing. Without doubt, this level of violence, which for some strange reason the régime is unable to contain, continues to pose a direct threat to tne entire peace process.

We must also make the point that we reject the suggestion that the ANC is the source of this violence. On the contrary, the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other organizations in the democratic movement spend an enormous amount of time trying to ensure that no violence occurs, and when it does occur, that it is quickly brought to an end.

Furthermore, the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the country cannot be shifted to the ANC. This is the responsibility of the Pretoria régime, which alone controls the State organs responsible for the maintenance of such law and order.

Despite all the problems we have mentioned, the ANC is determined to do everything it can to advance the peace process. The obstacles to negotiations will

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

have to be removed. All necessary measures will also have to be taken to ensure that the campaign of violence against the people is brought to an end.

The negotiations for a new constitution must also begin soon. The longer this process is delayed, the greater will be the instability within the country and, therefore, the greater the threat to the very process of peaceful transformation. In this context, we must reiterate our commitment to the position that all political formations in the country will have to be involved in the process of drawing up the new constitution. We believe that the best way to achieve this is in fact to elect a constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution, as happened in Namibia.

We also continue to be of the view that the management of the transitional period requires that an interim government, acceptable to all the people of South Africa, be formed. We cannot accept that one of the parties to the negotiations, placed in power by the white minority, should take upon itself the exclusive responsibility to oversee the process of change.

We would also like especially to welcome the decisions of the Special Committee against Apartheid to include in its programme of work for next year conferences on the educational and socio-economic needs of the people of South Africa. These are matters which require urgent attention. Quite clearly, any political settlement cannot survive if the issue of radically improving the quality of life of the majority is not addressed.

We would also like to take advantage of this opportunity to reiterate our appeal to the international community to assist us with resources to help resettle the thousands of South African exiles who should soon be returning home. We thank those countries that have already made a commitment to assist in this process, and trust that the Organization will also make its necessary inputs to ensure the

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

successful return home of people who were prepared to sacrifice everything for the realization of the objectives for which the Organization was formed.

At those moments when our country's progress towards its future as a non-racial democracy seems to be blocked, it is easy for despair to set in. But it is our firm belief that the forces of democracy within South Africa are too strong to be defeated. We would like to believe that the commitment of the countries represented here to the struggle to end the system of apartheid is too deep-rooted to be frustrated by a small minority within our country that might continue to delude itself that white minority rule can survive for much longer.

The world is in a process of change. South Africa cannot remove itself from this process. Its democratic renewal is a matter of urgency. The socio-economic uplift of all its people is a necessary corollary of this political process. If we continue to act together, as we must, united by a commitment to fight the scourge of racism and apartheid, our common victory will come sooner rather than later.

The situation will then arise when a genuinely representative delegation of the people of South Africa will, for the first time, take its seat within this Assembly. The conditions will then have been created in which peace would be guaranteed for all the peoples of southern Africa, enabling them to co-operate as equals, for their mutual benefit.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

To ensure that this reality comes to pass without delay it is of critical importance that the international community - and specifically the General Assembly - should continue to act in concert for the total abolition of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country. We trust and hope that the Assembly will once again find the consensus expressive of this united resolve of the international community.

Let me conclude by expressing our appreciation to the Organization and its Member States for the enormous contribution they have made to the struggle against apartheid, which has brought us today to the point where we can say that our common victory is in sight. The road we still have to travel is not long. It will be made even shorter if we succeed in maintaining the unity of the Assembly as it decides to sustain the pressure against the apartheid system and resolves to provide continuing political and material support to the forces within our country that have struggled steadfastly for justice and peace for all our people.

Finally, we should like to thank you very much, Mr. President, for enabling us to speak here and to extend our thanks to the Special Committee against Apartheid for enabling us to come to the United States.

The PRESIDENT: Owing to the lateness of the hour the remaining speakers scheduled for this afternoon will be heard first tomorrow morning.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members that in view of the large number of speakers still inscribed on the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 34, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", the schedule of the General Assembly has had to be adjusted to enable the Assembly to consider agenda item 34 in the afternoon of Thursday, 6 December, as well.

(The President)

Immediately following the consideration of agenda item 34 on Thursday afternoon, the Assembly will take action on the draft resolutions submitted under agenda item 23, "Question of Palestine".

On Friday, 7 December, in the morning, the Assembly will begin consideration of agenda item 35, "The situation in the Middle East", which was originally scheduled to begin on Thursday, 6 December, in the afternoon. On Friday, 7 December, in the afternoon, and on Monday, 10 December, in the morning, the Assembly will continue its consideration of agenda item 35, "The situation in the Middle East".

On Monday, 10 December, in the morning, the Assembly will also take up agenda item 11, "Report of the Security Council", originally scheduled for Friday, 6 December, in the afternoon and, as previously announced, agenda item 117, "Review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations".

On Tuesday, 11 December, as previously announced, the Assembly will consider agenda item 33, "Law of the Sea". In the afternoon of that day, immediately following consideration of agenda item 33, the Assembly will take up the reports of the Special Political Committee.

The remaining reports of the First Committee, originally scheduled for Monday, 10 December, in the morning, will be taken up at a later date to be announced.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.